/163 cont./

412
135

1. (cont.)
magnetite, in which are embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules.

415 Tall storage baskets of biconcave profile (one meter 40 centimeters long, 35 centimeters wide at the top), wound with brown bast bands and lined in the interior with maize
412 leaves, contain the flour and are very stout. The grating boards on which the mandioca is pulverized are about 115 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide.

415
531

Gourd-vessel (drinking-vessel) designs of the Bakaïrí.

251 High up a great quantity of dusty corncobs.

532 A number of strange dolls, which hang down from the
[353] vault on long strings, seem the most striking; they are
[824] plaited out of maize leaves: turkey-sized birds, projecting wings made out of one leaf and circularly twisted legs with three toes; others are slender, human-like figures, /164/ a small head on top, broken up below into narrow frippery. In our house we found two lizards made of grass, whose four feet come together in a ring, so that one can put them on one's head.

/164 cont./

415 Countless gourd vessels /cuyen; see glossary, p. 170 / and
●531 calabashes, brownish-yellow, some of them painted black in designs not without taste.

411 In the lower roof-basket are stuck the arrows, averaging two meters long, and the bows, which almost reach a length of two and a half meters. The arrows, made of ubá, have simple wood or bone points; at the end of the shaft broad feathers are set spirally.

237 Feathers, even bunches of them and whole tail rosettes,
415 are kept in mats placed together portfolio-like; spindles, pigment, bones, root pieces, shells, and the like are kept in small baskets and nets. On the cords of the hammocks are found as
412 decoration a couple of feathers or shells and -- the comb. This
[284] toilet article consists of small, narrow sticks placed next to one another and held together by two cross-sticks of bamboo by means of a plaiting of cotton threads; the hard sticks project beyond the lower cross-stick as the teeth of the comb.

286 The hammocks are (one can hardly say woven, but rather knotted. Two posts stand in the ground; they are wound with a skein of cotton in the way that our women wind knitting wool on a chair; through the horizontal, parallel threads, vertical threads are drawn at four-centimeter intervals with guide sticks and knotted; the parts of the skein which lie close to the post and are not knotted (the entire bundle of horizontal threads pressed together) form the loop that receives the hammock ropes.

285 A plaited matting above the door and sieves of alternating black and light straw are worked with a natural artistic sense. The fire is fanned with a triangular piece of matting.

302 The hair of the women, cut unevenly and longest behind the ears, hangs down to the shoulders; the forehead is almost completely covered. A young woman had the latter painted with thick red color during the visit on the river. No ornaments. Only
301 the old woman wears a string over her left shoulder, which goes under her right arm; three trouser buttons, which she cut off from us and the soldiers with her own hands, are strung on it.

/166 cont./

252 brick shape -- puvas, used for mingau. They boil the strained liquid in large pots, whereby the finest flour is deposited -- polvilho; this makes the best beijús.

501 [437] Back in the afternoon. Four canoes were acquired with an ax, shirt, and trousers. We are not in good shape, in spite of all that. Quintilian's canoe burst when it was hauled down. The [531] Bakaïrí canoes differ from ours only in their more careful workmanship; one of them is painted with black rings on the outside of the longitudinal sides. The oars, the size of a walking stick, have a crook-shaped handle, shaft, and a long lance-shaped blade, which is slightly hollowed out like a shovel.

133 The height of the two uppermost levels of the salto amounts to four meters; two meters more may be figured for the falls [226] below. Baskets for catching fish hang on ropes, which, in turn, are held by stakes standing in the middle of the whirlpool.

We call this waterfall the Salto da Alegria. Our happiness 136 is only slightly marred by a swarm of bees and wasps; among the latter, the kind that sting very painfully. -- The transport of the 122 canoes, for which there is a route, is completed. /Illustration appears here./

/167/

132 15 Aug. φ 13° 11'.7, λ 5'.7, km. 6.41, total 130.85.
122 7:00 A.M.: dry. 11.8, wet. 9.9, clear, calm.

000 We have only nine canoes; one is very battered. Castro and I separated, he is traveling with Manoel, I with Compadre Valentin. Off about 9:30 A.M.; immediately an accident happened. At a small rapids Wilhelm's boat capsized, and the foolish Negro Chico behaved as clumsily as possible. With the knapsack and the suitcase in his hands, he stood in the middle of the water, which was flowing over the baggage as though over a mill wheel, as bewildered as a porter in a railroad station who has lost sight of his stranger. He almost drowned, but was luckily pulled out by Clementino. We dried out on both shores. Delay until 1:00 in the afternoon.

[Text continues on P. 48--Analyst]

/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 [241] After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 [576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately [123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his [624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/172 cont./

000 the more uncertain I am in abstracting the common features. The
171 Kustenaú has his foot and half of his lower thigh painted red, like
302 stockings; the upper thighs are covered with a sooty black, in which, however, arched stripes are left blank. On his back he has two red stripes, and in addition black arm-bands. Numerous scratches, which are made with the tooth of the peixe-cachorro
302 (dogfish). The Bakaïrí, too, are painted more than usual with
[531] red; one has a black stripe on either side from eye to ear; another has painted himself black over the middle of his forehead, nose, lips, and chin, and bright brick-red on the sides of the forehead and the face. Among some, the hair, too, is saturated with the
301 red oil. Below the knees are bands of /Illustration appears here/ /173/ buritĭ straw; a skein of cotton, colored a dirty reddish brown, is tied around the waist. Some have strings or bands of cotton wound over the ankles or under the knees, around the legs, or around the upper arms. There is no uniformity anywhere.

302 The tonsure is shaved with a bent piece of spear grass. Its
413 diameter is seven centimeters.

177 To our surprise we also found an iron chisel tip and on a child a little string of blue beads. We could not find out definitely
[172] how these had found their way here; I interpreted their description and Antonio's unclear account to mean that they had been brought back from a tribe on the lower Paranatinga whom the grandfather had visited on a raiding expedition.

276 Even in Aldea II the men had become happily excited by the discovery of tobacco seed; smoking was also done here. The leaves were so dry that they could be rubbed almost to powder; they were rolled into cigarettes about two decimeters long, and the fresh green leaf of an unknown tree was split lengthwise and used as the wrapping. This wrapper burned with a pleasant, balsam odor. The smoke was inhaled.

262 The women made excellent beijú; it tasted like fresh French rolls. We also ate a fish ragout à la coquille, of which we would have liked to have had more than they gave us.

[Text Continues on P. 57]

/175 cont./

167 We counted 27 men, 18 women, and eight children, but
621 as some of the men, who stayed longer than we, reported, a
609 whole troop of women and children later came out of the woods.

342 I measured the largest house more carefully. It was 40 paces long, 24 paces wide. In the center line stood four supporting beams, 8-8.5 meters high (!) and 30 centimeters in diameter, the middle ones five paces apart, the outer ones each six paces
[531] from these; they had several bands painted with geometrical designs.

The distance of the two outer supporting beams from each other, /176/ 17 paces according to the above, also gave the length of the roof timbers. All around, 72 posts, up to 25 centimeters thick, one meter 72 high, served to support the elliptical roof basket. This was also the height of the two entrances, 77 centimeters wide, which lay opposite each other on the long sides and were made somewhat lower by the straw hanging down from the outside.

The roof basket, made up of large horizontal bamboo rings fastened by vertical poles bent against them, which converged at the top and projected to the outside through an opening, was built with great skill and regularity. The covering was made of straw-dry palm leaves. The leaf ribs lay horizontally; the free ends of the individual leaf spears hanging down from them, however, were all bent inward around the bare rib, so that solid mats were produced in the simplest manner. These overlapped like roof tiles.

364 We make the rounds through all the huts. The sense of order of the peaceful professor is lacking. They are full of refuse. In-
353 stead of the fine supply baskets, balls of the massa /dough/ one
[251] meter long, a half meter thick, and packed in leaves are found
[227] on simple racks. Little maize. Many fish nets made of tucum fiber: a wide-meshed bag hangs from a ring 80 centimeters long,
226 35 centimeters wide, which sits on a long pole. They probably get the fish out of the blocked-off lagoons with these nets from the top of their scaffold.

/65 cont./

124 say, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the un-
83 veiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall
[192] into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakaïrí, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same
● [531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's
[252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour
[524] on the pan, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the
[283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up püserego and
[289] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the
126 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must
291 add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoχõ, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohõhuχõ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulúri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tűxu åle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayáxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See pp. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/228 cont./

fire-maker; I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Buriti and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowgun and poisoned arrows. Only the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim; at any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratá tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

T 171 411 /234 cont./ corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around, sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

Fig. 29. Bakaïrí oar. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B * 171 501 [824]

B [531]

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaïrí canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaïrí canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiti the rim was turned over slightly.

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide,

/237/

*171 251 252 is covered with more small sticks, so that a triangular horizontal grill is formed. The fish are opened with a longitudinal slash along the middle line and a crosswise cut on the side; the flap is opened, the entrails removed, and the fish are placed on the roasting rack.

*171 285 [824] Plaiting. The material was furnished by the bakayuva, buriti, akurí, and carandasinha palms, bamboo cane, and Maranta stalks, which were split, the climbing palm urumbamba (Desmoncus), and the indispensable vines. The men [462] were the ones who plaited. They used both feet to help out, one foot holding the transverse stalks, the other the longitudinal ones. The basket plaiting was not on a high level. There were little standing and hanging baskets, closely plaited and wide-meshed, in [482] → which odds and ends were stored, fish carried, and the like, but there was no advance beyond the generally familiar forms. Some • [531] variety was achieved by plaiting in black-colored strips. The Mehinakú and Auetö had larger, rectangular, trough-like standing baskets, which were characterized by a neat appearance, were also decorated with tassels at the corners, and were used to store gourds and the like. The Mehinakú called these baskets mayáku, a word which the

Fig. 31. Carrying basket. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/238 cont./

*171 283 it is often made of wood, and only among the Bakaïrí does it consist of an ordinary, crude clay disk which might have been broken out of the bottom of an old pot and ground to shape.

• [531] /239/ I shall speak later of the designs incised on the first two types mentioned; the Bakaïrí leave their wood and clay disks undecorated, and we did not find any tortoise-shell whorls among them. The women powdered their upper thighs with white, chalky clay for protection against perspiration. They kept the material in the form of balls the size of a child's head, from which they scraped off a little with a shell for use.

The thread is made in two or three different thicknesses and kept in balls which are wrapped in green leaves. The balls [431] [574] are popular hospitable gifts of the Bakaïrí and Mehinakú, which were given to us likewise at the reception, just as Columbus reports this in the case of his islanders on 12 October 1492.

*171 286 The "loom" is as primitive as can be. Two low posts, which need not be half a meter high, a good distance apart, that is all. The origin of the weaving from the plaiting is still clearly evident. A thick skein of cotton is wound around the posts as a warp, a thread without end; the cross-threads are pulled through with guide sticks.

286 352 The Bakaïrí hammock represents a rather loose net, long, rectangular, two and a third meters by one and a quarter meters. The rows running lengthwise are broken at irregular intervals of two to three and a half centimeters by transverse rows; one can easily stick one's finger through the interstices. The type of weave is very simple. Two longitudinal threads, two to three millimeters thick, are wound around each time through the thinner transverse threads which are only one millimeter thick, and, to be sure, there are four transverse threads, of which two run wave-like in front of, and two in back of, the longitudinal threads, crossing between the latter. Where the transverse threads come out on either side, they are knotted; thus on each longitudinal side one finds some 70 knots with the four cut-off ends of the threads. The loop left free on either post is wound in the center, so that, on the one hand, an eyelet to receive the suspension

B /241 cont./

*171 415 into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed; B [412] the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge B [531] ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds B [386 824] or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside: The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper; the Bakaïrí called B [128] the fruit péru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

B 128 323 Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

B +171 415 W [415 252 126] Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukúru of the Mehinakú, in which the grated mandioca root was cooked; they had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Auetö, from which their shape and, since a man -- by rights it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters; it was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

B /243 cont./
*171 one draws on the ground or in the sand. In taking down the
20 vocabulary, I was extraordinarily often able to convince myself
532 that the inner perception was converted into an explanatory
[124] sand-drawing involuntarily and without being demanded by me.
To be sure, it happened most often if the shape of the animal was particularly suitable for this, as in the case of snakes, an alligator head, and fish, where, in addition, a voice could not be imitated. Furthermore, it is to be freely admitted that the impulse for the realm of hearing was disproportionately stronger among these hunters, and also that in intercourse among themselves they undoubtedly confined themselves to the drawing gesture for the sense of sight. Indeed, they could actually limit themselves to this. Toward me there was the additional thought: "since the man does not understand our language, how can we in this case be adequately clear?" and they drew in the sand.

It is enough if one is justified in concluding from the behavior of the Indians that the drawing gesture, on the level where it still forms a not unessential supplement to the language, easily develops into actual drawing. /244/ We see, and this is the important thing, that here among primitive peoples drawing is used like gesture, to convey a message and not to reproduce graceful forms, and, on the basis of the personal impression that I gained from the directness of explanatory drawing, I believe
B that it is older than the ornamental-artistic kind. One may per-
[53] haps object that the Schingú /Xingu/ Indians are already artists who cover all their implements with drawings and ornamentation and that is why drawing as a means of expression is particularly
BO natural to them. To this I can only reply that the Bororó, whom
171 I should like to mention often in this connection in an anticipatory
532 way, made magnificent feather ornaments, to be sure, but knew practically nothing about the graphic arts, and that they were the very ones who had a greater skill and greater fancy for drawBO ing in the sand for explanation than did the Schingú people. They
[224] were restless fellows, however, who lived from the hunt; they had never found the leisure to practice painting and plastic art like those who, to be sure, still practiced hunting and fishing but had already advanced to sedentary farming.

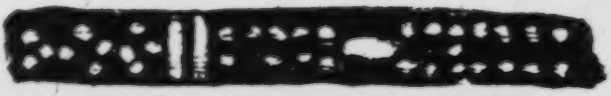
2· Steinen--280 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

531
825.

1. Sukuri snake. 2. Rays I.

3. Pakú fish. 4. Armored fish.

5. Fish bones.



6. Pintado fish (*Pimelodus*)

7. Raya II. 8. Hali

9. Pakú fish.

10. Bats.

Bakaïrí ornamentation I.

2: Steinen--281 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

531
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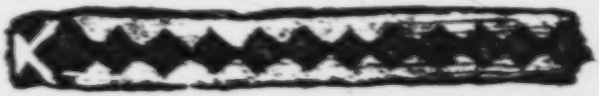
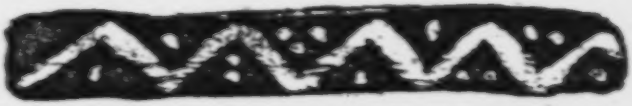
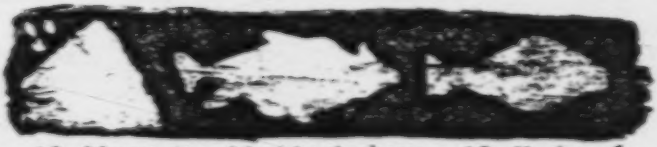


11. Jiboya snake.

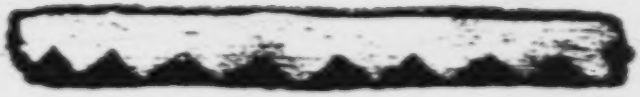


12. Agau snake with head.



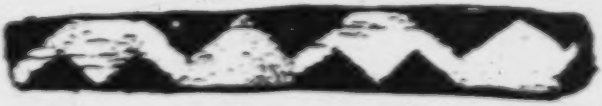
13. Women's triangle. 14. Matrincham. 15. Kurimatã.

531



14. Women's triangles (uluri).

15. Women's triangles (uluri).



16. Women's triangles (uluri).

[824]

17. Palmito leaves.

Bakairí ornamentation II.

A
171 /257 cont./
532 Mützel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the
825 Indian artist.

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the il-
W lustration of a Mehinakú flute, /258/ where the same monkey --
[534] not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and
[532] is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a neck.

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 41), a sort of female figure with riding habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocerus atratus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

W
532 Finally, mereschu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinakú.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

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Ornamental frieze of the Bakaïrí. Mereschu and uluri. The Auetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beijú turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

B
531 On pages 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second
825 Bakaïrí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of
[353] bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief, in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters; the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakaïrí called noïschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

/258 cont./

531 825 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings. When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem [114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of [824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/259 cont./

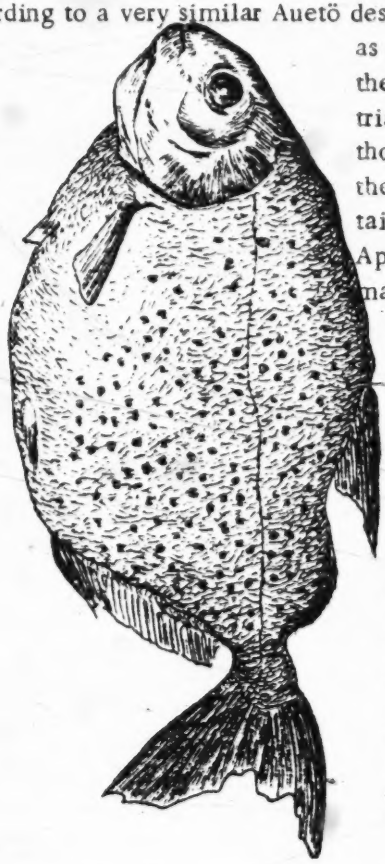
531 825 "pintado." We shall come across it again in connection with the mask costumes. No. 7 was described as the dotted markings of a ray, pinukái, while in No. 2 a second species of ray, schiwári (a word generally present among the North Karaiben /Carib/ as schibali, sipari, chuparé, etc.), is shown with the characteristic rings and spots of its skin.

Zigzags and wavy lines are snakes, whose characteristic skin marking, for which there was probably no room on the narrow strip, was cold-bloodedly added in the surroundings. Thus, No. 12, a common land snake or cobra of the Brazilians, has its tail end on the left and, on the right, the clearly recognizable head described to me as such; the dots are put in between the zigzags. After the artist had drawn the snake, he remembered to characterize it by its spots. The same thing happened in No. 1, in the case of the sukurí watersnake or anaconda, Boa scytale. On the other hand, in No. 11, the picture of the Boa constrictor, we see the marking of the snake skin divided up into numerous small triangles; it runs along the two edges of the board, and, to be sure, both times in such a way that the triangles project inward with their tips and border the unpainted background to form a chain of black rhombuses. According to my notes, the snake has a head, but it is difficult to see how the bit of a figure on the left, with which the drawing begins, can represent one.

No. 5, kána igúri ikúto, the fish-bones picture, is readily understandable. It had the considerable length of three and one-fourth meters. The armored fish, No. 4, which joins the dividing line, makes greater demands on the imagination. This tupára of the Bakaïrí is the akará of the Tupí and the Acara or armored sheatfish of the zoologist, the cascudo of the Brazilians. On the other hand, the pakú fish in No. 3, Prochilodus, páte-ikúto, though we should scarcely have recognized them as fish, became clear to us from the picture of the kurimatá, koalú ikúto (No. 15). The fish /260/ figure in No. 15, with the entire surface filled in, appears only in a stylized outline in 3, the body becomes a rhombus, the tail a triangle, and both are used purely ornamentally in any number desired, next to one another or each one alone. Thus we see in No. 3 on the left two body rhombuses and a tail triangle of the

/260 cont./

●531 825 pakű, while there are three rhombuses in succession at the right. In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 8, núki-ikuto, the picture of the nuki fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Auetö design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sheatfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nuki fish that it is distinguished from the pakú by triangles filled in with white. The pakú, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots; in No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the pakú does not have at all.



[136]

Fig. 42. Mereschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

531 825 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto, pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 531 825 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/261 cont./

*171 identified it. We retained the Bakaïrí name of the important
●531 little fish, the one we learned first, for our use. In the Kulisehu
825 languages the animal has the following names: Bakaïrí meréschu (the accented e /262/ long), Nahuquá irínko, Mehinakú kulupé,

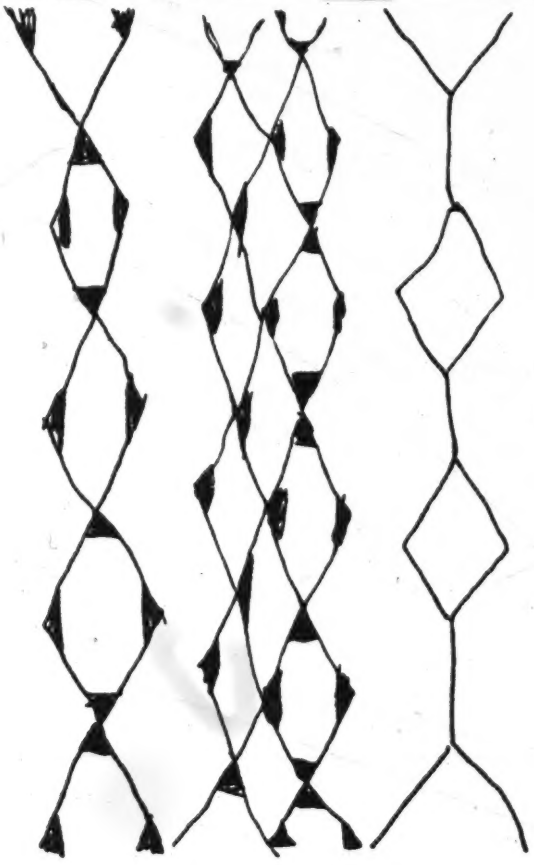


Fig. 43. Mereschu design drawn with pencil (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B /262 cont./
*171 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupéi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
531 marirítyi, Auetö pirapévit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaïrí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17, made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

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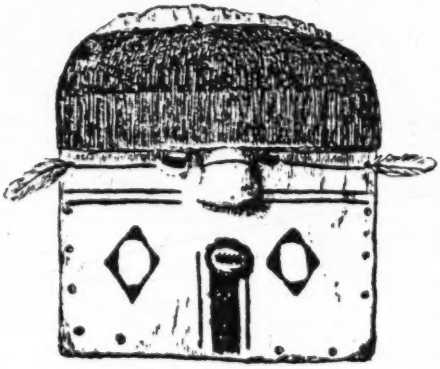

Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaïrí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaïrí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

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The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with

[See p. 266--Analyst]

A /262 cont./
531 rhombus-shaped meshes: "fish in the net," said the Bakaïrí. The
532 term "net," as we shall see, is by no means figurative, but means a fish net.

B In spite of the purely ornamental nature of the figure, which
*171 absolutely forbids the expression "illustration" in our sense, the
531 Indian is still most definitely aware of the concrete meaning. Where the design covered a mask or a spindle whorl, each mesh with its mereschu was placed separately against the adjoining one and by no means was a net produced first by the intersection of
A lines. At most the Auetö, who /263/ as we shall see, were the
[531] most advanced in schematic ornamentation, were capable of
[532] genuine drawing, as, indeed, practice in connection with a regular, craftsman-like procedure should gradually lead to this automatically: one clearly sees in the drawing of the wooden mask that the artist /Figs. 45-47 appear here/ did not practice the mathematical art in dividing up the space, whereas one might doubt this in the case of the cloth mask. The Bakaïrí, at any
W rate, were still far from any such progress. The two spindle whorls
[283] of the Mehinakú (Fig. 47), in one of which the hole in the center
[531] is surrounded by a mereschu, also show how the /264/ individual fish are set next to one another and, on closer observation, reveal numerous small irregularities. It was great fun to watch the people at their scribbling. But it is impossible for me to think that this "design," which best expresses the high degree of ethnological leveling among the tribes, is a product of more recent times. If the degree of stylization could serve as a relative measure of time, the Auetö would have had it longest.

One cannot say, for example, that the people drew rhomboid figures in which they made lines intersect at equal intervals, filled out the corners, and then said: "why, that looks like a mereschu fish, is mereschu-shaped, or the like," and had thus, in accordance with the comparison, given the design its name. This is refuted by the manner of manufacture, setting the figures next to one another, one by one, and by the simple fact that the design is no longer mereschu-shaped, but has already deviated from the concrete original, as is shown in particular by the tail-corner. None of us

[Text Continues on p. 292]

/264 cont./

*171 531 would recognize it as a fish at all. The pakŭ-fish at the left in No. 3 (Plate 20 /see p. 280/) is still recognizable as an illustration of a fish, with the help of the kurimatá, No. 15 /see p. 281/ although two rhombus bodies are already united with the tail triangle, but in the case of the rhomboid bodies at the right in No. 3, no sketcher whose hands happen to create them could say that they reminded him of a pakŭ fish, but rather it is only possible the other way around, from the picture of a concrete original to the stylization. Not to speak of No. 9, the dotted rhombuses = pakŭ fish with stippling or the bats.

The relationship to the original model is the very thing that gives the Indian pleasure in drawing, which, after all, is very natural. It amuses him that he can draw a fish with a few strokes. Probably, however, a technical factor was important. Drawing was in most cases scratching, not painting. It was only the scratched line that was filled with color. The designs were scratched on spindle whorls and gourds; even on the masks they were scratched out of the previously applied white clay background with a bamboo stick. Thus, it is not surprising that motifs like the rhombus of the mereschu and the triangle of the uluri with its sharp corners, which we shall discuss presently, have gained the upper hand to such an overwhelming extent and recur everywhere in endless repetition. It was particularly easy to scratch out the sharp corners. One could work better than with circles and wavy lines, which could also represent animals. The scratching inevitably led to stylization.

In the case of the uluri, the woman's triangle, our pleasure in the concrete model is perhaps more easily understandable than in the case of a tasty little fish. Cf. Figure 18, page 187. Even we, to this day, have the same point of view as the Kulisehu Indians. Except that we civilized human beings have stylized the anatomical model, while the crude primitive peoples were satisfied with the dainty "little garment." /Plate XXII appears here./ /265/ And strangely enough, it is the rhombus, discussed so much here, that we have in place of the uluri. The Bakaïrí research traveler,

[Text continues on p. 294]

/265 cont./

probably to his great satisfaction, would rediscover -- I do not know whether in all parts of Germany -- countless examples of his pakŭ fish, the rhombus with the center dot, incised, scratched, and painted on our trees, walls, doors, exactly as he makes it. Woe to him who has once formed the habit of seeing this Indian pakŭ design wherever it appears among us. If he wanted to get away from it, he could no longer set foot in a railroad station, an avenue of trees, a scenic spot, in short, any place where people pass by, for it seems as though an unknown, mysterious society had conspired to pursue him with it; he finds it in the bark of ancient forest giants, he finds it in freshly fallen snow.

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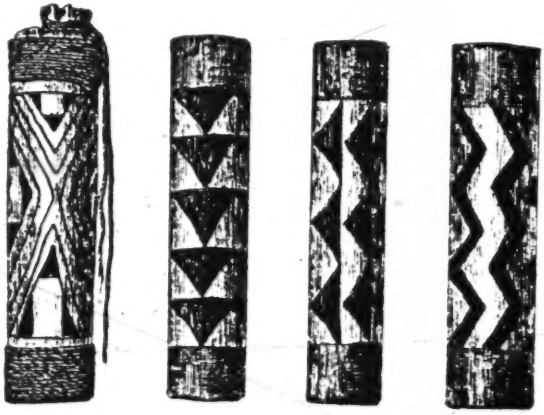

Fig. 48. Bakaïrí back-sticks with the designs: mereschu, uluri, bat, and snake. (1/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/. Cf. the following page /see p. 295/.

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[291]

The Kulisehu Indians made no secret of their delight in the uluri; a shapeless bast band would not have offered them the model. If they have the geometric conception of a triangle, they owe it entirely to the uluri. It would not have spontaneously occurred to them to draw triangles. Among the pencil drawings on Plate 17 /see p. 266/ there is an uluri which a Bakaïrí, unasked, drew in my book for me. In the frieze, Plate 21 /see p. 281/, a large single specimen is shown in No. 13, in 14 we see the uluris joined into a flat zigzag band.

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/265 cont./

● 531 No. 15 shows them in a strange succession, two adjoining ones touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the bark board. In No. 16 four uluris lie with their bases alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from base to base. The bars represent the grossly thickened groin strings and are analogous to the mereschu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakaïrí, they laughed happily and cried "ulúri." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[301] /266/ The four back-sticks of Figure 48 /see p. 294/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakaïrí village and represented stylized mandioca digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in [825] black in attractive execution. The first shows mereschu fish, the third hanging bats, which we shall also come across among the Auetö, the fourth the agau snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second uluris. Never, as far as I remember, does the uluri triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus gives an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 49 and 50 appear here./

*[171] On Nahuquá whizzer sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 382/, zigzags of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

531 825 [301] The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decorations. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereschu only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, tövíga of the Bakaïrí, tukúra of the Tupí. The design was combined with that of the mereschu fish; the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

B 531 825 /266 cont./ The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaritamáze, of the Bakaïrí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaritamáze.

A 531 191 The Auetö decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetö ornamentation" /see p. 293/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakaïrí painted with white loam on blackened bark, the Auetö applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetö colleagues black-artists and his Bakaïrí colleagues plein-airists.

B [531] → B [301] [531] [825] ← A 531 825 →

Fig. 49. Back stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 50. Back stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/267/ No. 5 is a genuine, quite pleasing mereschu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mereschu fish. The same word, tepirapevetú, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mereschu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

/267 cont./

A 531 825 of Figure 48 /see p. 294/ are also thought of as hanging bats. If I think of flying foxes that hang in trees like hams, I understand the triangular ornament perfectly, and others agree with me to a certain extent; but no one pretends to understand me when I maintain that I now see bats everywhere, on tile-covered floors or in the tiles over a kitchen sink, etc.

Perhaps even more surprising is mura-yöt, the design of "young" or "small" bora bees or bird bees: the black fields of a A [262] /268/ chess board standing on one corner! A design that surrounds us on all sides and that, despite the greatest power of imagination, would not call to mind the picture of the young bee, which the Indian is so passionately fond of eating, or even its cell. In comparison with these, the fish vertebrae, No. 8, two equilateral triangles joined at the apex, resembling stylized hourglasses, are strikingly realistic.

B * 171 53 Conclusions. What we call geometric figures are designated by the Indian with names of concrete originals. One must ask again whether these are perhaps not merely names which he uses for the sake of comparison. This cannot in any way be maintained, however. We, too, have no better expression than "serpentine line," but we never draw dots beside it and do not distinguish, according to the number and arrangement of dots, serpentine lines that correspond to different kinds of snakes, as the Bakaïrí do in Nos. 1 and 12 of Plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/. In No. 12 we have the figure with dots and on the fourth back-stick, page 294, the same snake in the, according to our view, purely geometric figure of the serpentine line. But even this is not a geometric figure to the native; the certainly inevitable subsequent stage, where the concrete object becomes transformed into an abstraction, can have only just begun. The Indian could say of the triangles, they are "uluri-shaped," but, for one thing, he calls them simply uluris, although his language is perfectly capable of expressing the comparison even adjectivally, and then, too, he sometimes connects them, as in No. 16, by means of the groin strings. There is even more cogent proof for the mereschu design, however, when the native explains to me that the surrounding net is the fish net, the filled-in corners of the rhombus are head,

/268 cont./

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●531 tail, and fins, and when he records side by side on the same frieze the developmental stages of the fish stylization in No. 15, No. 3, and No. 9, and finally when he draws the rhombuses one by one, even where they cover a broad area, and does not produce them by the intersection of parallel lines. I promise to place the mereschu design in front of any number of unprejudiced and imaginative persons, and I believe not one out of a hundred will interpret it as a fish. In fact, the thing is so extreme, we can be glad if we understand the figures to a certain degree after we know what the Indian calls them; but if we wanted to maintain that he created the names according to the resemblances, we ourselves should surely have observed the resemblances in the first place. How, in all probability, the mereschu design originated and gained its general distribution, I shall not be able to discuss until the next chapter; see II below /see pp. 369 ff./.

Conversely, nothing is easier to understand than the development of the geometric figure from an illustration. Certain things gave the people pleasure, and assuming that they draw such things -- regardless of how they progressed to drawing -- then out of the ideas of various artists, such as we still see in /269/ colorful confusion in the Bakaïrí frieze, one or another must soon gain more general acceptation when the object in question is easy to recognize because of the natural simplicity of its outlines. A rhomboid fish will retain more similitude in unskilled hands than any quadruped. A series of uluris are at first still varied individually, as is admirably shown in Nos. 16, 15, and 14, but from the multitude of individual variations, the one that wins out will be the one which eliminates secondary details, which sacrifices similitude to simplicity, and can most easily be mass-produced, if I may express it thus. The less one needs to deliberate, the better able to survive is the form, for it can be accomplished even by lesser talents. Art makes some progress here when it achieves the endlessly repeated pattern; only thus can it gain a foothold and become a general need and be preserved from generation to generation. We are at this stage in the case of the Auetö; the Bakairi are still partly below this level and make it

/269 cont./

* 171 ● 531 possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former, is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles."

[825] The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, merêschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

[501]

Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

/270 cont./

000 Civilized man today begins even his first bungling efforts in the drawing art with triangles, squares, circles, and with these and similar figures our ancestors developed the science that is regarded as the highest; he does not see lines and geometric figures anywhere around him in nature -- therefore, he concludes, these fundamental concepts have sprung from his own rich inner self. That they could have originated from the models of pubic coverings, bats, or fish seems to him not only unworthy, but also a ridiculously roundabout course. For what is simpler than drawing a triangle? What is simpler, I reply, than counting to five? Even now the Bakaïrí explains each triangle that I draw for him as a picture of the uluri; he cannot yet count things without the help of his fingers. The number word "5" = hand, which is still found among many primitive peoples, corresponds exactly to the uluri - triangle, in both cases the inner perception of the pattern or the abstraction is derived only from the object, in both the concrete original has asserted its rights for a long time. Neither the facility with which we toss these ideas about nor the fact that the meaning of our number words has evaded all the probings of philology proves that our ancestors followed a course different from that of primitive peoples.

• 531 802 811

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The teacher of geometry today certainly need not take particular pleasure in an uluri in order to sketch a triangle. The uluri is a sort of archaeopteryx of mathematics. How should the flying bird appreciate the fact that it is descended from the creeping or, at best, fluttering reptiles? Nevertheless the bird's inability to understand this origin does not prove the least thing against it. In the same way nothing is proved if we who are excellent flyers in the heights of mathematics can scarcely imagine that earlier human beings were unable to rise to the minor achievement of producing a simple triangle by themselves.

*171 411 531 Use of the ornamentation. On the weapons used -- there were only bows and arrows -- painted designs were scarcely applicable. The throwing stick, too, was decorated only with plaiting around it; a cork cone that was mounted on an arrow shaft as a tip exhibited the decoration of the mereschu design, cf. the illustration, page 91.

/270 cont./

B
*171 Otherwise it may be said that all festive adornment, insofar as it
531 offered suitable areas, was without exception painted with designs.
532 This is most noticeable on the masks, for which all tribes greatly preferred the mereschu, as will be shown in the more detailed description of masks.

B
531 /271/ I shall briefly enumerate the most characteristic ex-
[501] amples of decoration with designs. Among the Bakaïrí we saw a canoe painted with the ray rings and the zigzag of the anaconda. As for oars, apart from the one in Figure 51, we found only one
B where the snake design was applied or had been preserved. On
[534] the drum-tree lying in the third Bakaïrí village, besides the mereschu figures mentioned under bark drawings, there was a long fish-bone drawing painted on, like that of the first plate showing ornamentation /Pl. XX, see p. 280/. In the harbor of the Mehinakú, as I have also mentioned, several trees bore attractive
B mereschu designs scratched into them.

531 Among the Bakaïrí it was primarily the gourds that were
415 adorned with designs, the drinking bowls as well as the ball-shaped calabashes and the bottle-shaped ones that were used for storing feathers. /Figs. 52 and 53 appear here./ Sometimes the uluri design, sometimes the mereschu design covered them net-shaped, corresponding to the slice cut out at the stem of the calabashes, and also directly opposite, there was drawn a circle toward which the designs converged and of which a half-circle remained on the side when the gourds were cut in two for drinking bowls. On one specimen we saw that the mereschus had been pushed over one another in one corner, which gave the impression of plaiting. Occasionally mereschus and bats alternated and were differentiated
B only by the fact that in the case of the latter the corners were
[301] not filled in, like No. 10 on Plate 20. The back-sticks were all closely covered with designs, as described. Cf. page 296.

Y
171 Among the Nahuquá we were likewise particularly struck by
531 the decorated gourds, except that here principally the rattle-gourds used in the dance were decorated. Their whole painting did not amount to much. Yet it is possible that I underestimate them, because during our first visit they had moved out their household

Y /271 cont./
171 utensils and perhaps had still withheld some of them during our
531 second visit. This is not particularly likely, however, since they were very anxious to do business with us.

A The Auetö proved to be assiduous painters, surpassing the
531 Mehinakú and Kámayurá, especially the former. Among the
W Mehinakú, the gourds, which among the Kamayurá were pro-
[531] vided with attractive designs, fell behind the pots. The mandioca digging-sticks were decorated with mereschu designs
W and also, as we shall see, with carvings. Both are also extended
[412] to the beijú turners, with which the flat cakes were tossed from one side to the other. I am giving /272/ an example of a beijú turner from the Kamayurá (a) and one from the Yaulapiti (b), these poor devils who had nothing to offer us except four wooden beijú turners and only one stone-hard beijú. The Kamayurá artist enjoyed drawing the dividing lines more than the mereschus, which he dismisses with four halves. In this apt example, which will presently find its counterpart, one may clearly

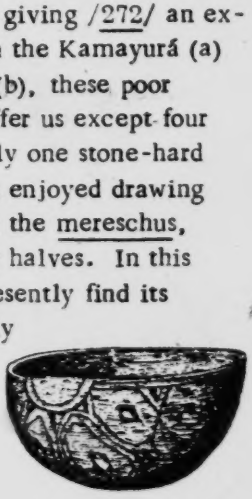

Fig. 52. Drinking gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu and bat designs. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 53. Feather gourd (Bakaïrí) with mereschu design. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B
415
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A
531 see how the original motif is pushed aside, in the fullest sense of
ooo the term, and ornamentation for its own sake takes over. The

/272 cont./

A W 531 beijú turner of the Yaulapiti shows half a mereschu above and below and, in the center, the armored fish decoration of the Auetö, about which, however, I do not know, as I do in the case of the mereschu, whether it has the same meaning among the Yaulapiti.

A W 283 531 B [283] [531] [239] The spindle whorl offers the richest material in the way of drawings among the Mehinakú, Auetö, and Kamayurá, in equal fashion. While the Bakaïrí had whorls of wood and clay, a disk cut out of the ventral carapace of the turtle was used predominantly here and was almost always decorated on one side and not infrequently on both sides. The design was scratched in with the tooth of the dogfish and smeared with saliva and charcoal.

A W [412]

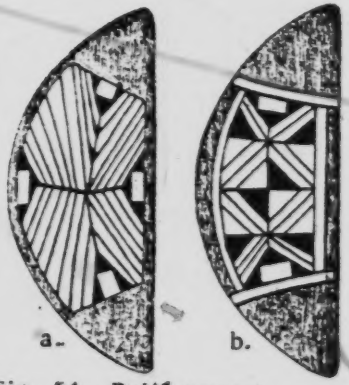

Fig. 54. Beijú turners.
a. Kamayurá, b. Yaulapiti.
(1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

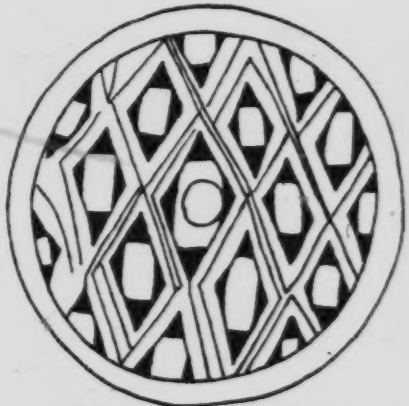

Fig. 55. Spindle whorl with mereschu design (Mehinakú.) (1/1 nat. size (as shown in the original illustration/.)

I have already reproduced two turtle spindle-whorls of the Mehinakú on page 291. A similar one of wood is shown in Figure 55. The designer ran into difficulties with his dividing lines. This type is the common one. Occasionally, however, we found whorls that show great progress. On the small work surface, a sure hand is developed and purely artistic motifs are produced. In order to demarcate the mereschus all around, a concentric circle used to be drawn close to the

2: Steinen--310 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Aweto SP6

A
283
531 /276 cont./ four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

B
*171
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531
[532] Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

000 III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

B
*171
532 The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong
B
[825] place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

2. Steinen--337 ED-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/294 cont./

*171 ●531 532 825 In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Massarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (trakayá, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Pakú Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Asellus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

600 /295/

Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakaïrí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinakú (cayman dance). Auetö (koahálu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

/302 cont./

535 framework of stalks in which sat small sanyassa birds amidst flocks of cotton, lizards plaited out of straw, as well as two sword-like pieces of wood painted black and white, which represented rattlesnakes -- /303/ all, except the circularly cutout ball-gourds, were provided with straw funnels for setting them on the head. In addition, rattle-gourds and foot-rattles made of hard fruit shells.

[534]

538 535 As for masks, I obtained in Maigêri a longish oval mask of net plaiting with a beard of buriti fibers, a pendant of Orthalicus shells, and a wide-meshed net hood trimmed with curassow feathers. In the upper third, which is vertically intersected by a white stripe, but otherwise is painted red and dotted with black, there are the two eyes in the form of two straw rings; a band of straw borders the tongue-shaped nose which is on the edge above the eyes. The lower two thirds have a white loam background and on it exhibit the mereschu design in black and neatly drawn. The most striking thing, however, is the picture of a piava fish, tonfschi, which in the continuation of the stripe in the center of the face stands in the middle of the mereschu design. The black dotting of the upper part is probably also connected with it.

[531]

Fig. 93.
Net plaited-mask with piava fish. Bakaîrî. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

We obtained eight wooden masks, all with black, red, and usually also white painting. They are heavy, flat wooden plates laboriously worked out with the stone ax, out of which the forehead

[302] part projects with considerable curvature.

/322 cont./

*171 ● 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances, in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does [562] [535] not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the [226] Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

/423 cont./

the black. If one examines the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, which are still free of blue embroidery beads and fabrics, one will understand the entire situation at a glance. There on the painted implements one finds only red, yellow, white, and black, and the feather ornamentation also shows green and blue; it shows both colors in brilliant purity, but unsorted, arbitrarily blended together in any fashion, and, with the other colors, in a luminous total picture which invites general admiration but not detailed analysis. In modern art this is called a color symphony, and it is understandable that from a symphony one does not learn scales. In the soul of the Indian it looks the same as in a shop window. The only blue and green [196] he has at home is in the shape of his parakeets and parrots or similar ornamental birds, and so he takes their name for the color name, which suffices for blue and green.

He always definitely made one distinction between blue and green: he ranked blue, but not green, with black or dark. Why does he not sometimes also call a green "black-dark"? The only reason seems to be that cases where a green is so striking that it is used as the distinguishing feature of a designation are very rare, aside from the parrots themselves, as the lists show, and then it is always a matter of a luminous parrot-green. On the other hand, among the animals distinguished with "black-dark" = blue, the dark blue always predominates; thus, even the ararauna, probably the lightest of these, has, according to Brehm, "all upper parts along with the tail-coverts dark sky-blue"; the feathers often have even a very blackish shade on the outer part of the vane, and only when the bird is flying along bathed in full sunlight does a lighter, misty azure become notable.

/424/

Chapter XVI.
The Paressí.

On the history of the Paressí and tribes related to them. Our visitors. Language. Anthropological. On the ethnography (dress, ethnographic yields, intoxicating beverages, dance

/20 cont./

look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

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[126]
[532]
[531]

/35 cont./ specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B. 9957) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karía, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

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Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /chapitas/ (V.B. 9956. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

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Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

[113]

44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

/36 cont./

535 126 [531] Cacique Pires' house, where they were used in the dance fiestas staged at specific times by the Xinguanos. The fire-engraved embellishments enhanced with black paint are wholly ancestral. Besides circles and spirals they also include other decorative elements of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí. The length of these sticks reaches from 76 cm. to 100 cm. and their diameter from 1.7 cm. to 4.5 cm.

532 126 Of the figures made of maize husks, such as the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries had in former times, I found two specimens in the settlement of Xinguanos on the Rio Paranatinga, which represent birds (V.B. 9964 and 9965. Length 15 cm.) A ball made of husks of ears of maize (V.B. 9966. Length 21 cm.) such as was used by the Bakairí of the Kulisehu in general for their game with a ball, which they called tőju, is shown in Figure 31, b.

126 532 751 Small figures in the form of the human figure shown on Figure 23, d (V.B. 9961. Length 10 cm.) were placed, in Simões Lopes, around the /37/ necks of newborn babies to protect them from illness. I had acquired a good, old specimen of such a figure which was tied with an animal claw from the necklace of the little girl of a woman belonging to the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Novo. A day later she came with her child to ask me to return to her the necklace with the pendant, because the child had fallen ill after the loss of the necklace. She exchanged the old figure for the new one shown in Figure 23, d.

211 194 199 Finally, I must still mention the notched board shown on Figure 31, a (V.B. 9969. Length 23.5 cm.) Since such boards, probably intended as mnemonic aids, are not found among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River tributaries, we must assume that this case is an instance of foreign influence in later times.

/37 cont./

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III. Plaited Objects of the Bakairí in Simões Lopes

Most of the plaited objects that I acquired from the Bakairí in Simões Lopes belong to that kind of plaiting which I called in my respective previous publications Stufengeflecht (stepped plaiting).

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The two fire fans shown in Figures 35 a and 35 b (a: (above) V.B. 9918. Length of the upper rim 45 cm. Width 19 cm. b. (below) V.B. 9919. Length of the upper rim 43 cm. Width 17.5 cm.) are similar in their external form to those, with which we are familiar, of the Kulisehu Bakairí of former times, but in regard to technique they already show certain signs of degeneration. In the chapter "Geflechte und Geflechtsornamentik im Xingú-Quellgebiet /Plaited Objects and Their Ornamentation in the Headwater Region of the Xingu/" in my already-mentioned book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, I dealt at length with the technique used in the construction of such fire fans, because these plaited objects were especially suitable to show the dependence of the ornamentation of plaited objects on the technique of plaiting used in their construction. It is possible to determine exactly the specific units in the plaited object and the order in which they were successively fashioned, and the specimens shown in photographs in the work mentioned clearly reveal how the ornamental lines between these specific units of the plaited article and, successively, the overall ornamentation of the respective fans, are intimately bound to the technical conditions of the plaiting. Thus, in all fans of this kind /obtained/ from the Kulisehu Indians, the two triangular units of the plaited object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the object, are striped horizontally, that is to say, parallel to the lower edge, while the middle part of the fan, which integrates /?/ the beginning of the plaited object and is shaped like a square resting on its corner, is usually striped vertically.

[178]

[531]

/37 cont./

285 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 191
372 of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle
• 531 part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ techni-
cal complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular
units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two
sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons
striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have
the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that
runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/
and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the techni-
cal conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects.
The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was
plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan
in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the
two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free
285 ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the
372 numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic
178 Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower
531 base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and
the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões
Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans
from the Kulisehu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of
the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration
of the Bakairí plaiting techniques, which in times past was
more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The
fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains,
in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in
the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure
of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity,
184 between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those
171 which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former
531 times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909.
Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket col-
lected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

285 /38 cont./
184 by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of
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45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

buriti leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, shows on the whole great similarities.

285 /39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called
184 by the Kulisehu Bakairí apa (V.B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm.
531 Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

/39 cont./

285 differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the
184 small rhombs of the flat basket from Simões Lopes are white
● 531 with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the rhombs of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, this difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Simões Lopes, marked by the ornamental striping running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective stem fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are placed with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are placed with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Simões Lopes the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is stained black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kulisehu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is stained with soot and washed immediately. Through washing the soot disappeared from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a pretty border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

/39 cont./

184 285 197 531 171

The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrasts to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

/40 cont./

184 285 179 531 171

work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

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The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/41 cont./
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531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

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531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kulisehu Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my

[114]
[126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890. Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889. Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 28.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880. Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

/41 cont./

285 184 531 three-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket in Figure 41, four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52), and that of the basket in Figure 42 four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the buriti palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary baskets also, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[126] Of such baskets made from a single leaf, no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work. (51) But it is likely that the Bakairí

51. Ibid., pp. 347-348
Figs. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that this was not noted by the respective explorers. The /42/ Kulisehu Bakairi called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, korá. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (V.B. 9900. Height 24 cm. Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceeds as follows: the leaf strands are divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strands. The plaiting, of single mesh to quadruple mesh, presents the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, at first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the front side on the edge of the leaf by folding the free ends of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

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Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (52) with the aid of a diagram,

52. Ibid., pp. 356-359, Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square AEIG in the diagram), /is woven/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner to corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABFE in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HIFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HIFC in the diagram) are folded upward in a vertical position (triangles DBC, BFE, EIG, and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

/42 cont./
285 remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket
184 acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the
53 Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such
[126] a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

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/43 cont./ striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case, contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBE and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket, /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

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531 /44 cont./
184 direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

285 Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my
227 respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-
184 thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Natürvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanaschi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such
126 a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tikíshi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spiral fashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

285 The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 37 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

4:Schmidt--73 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XV

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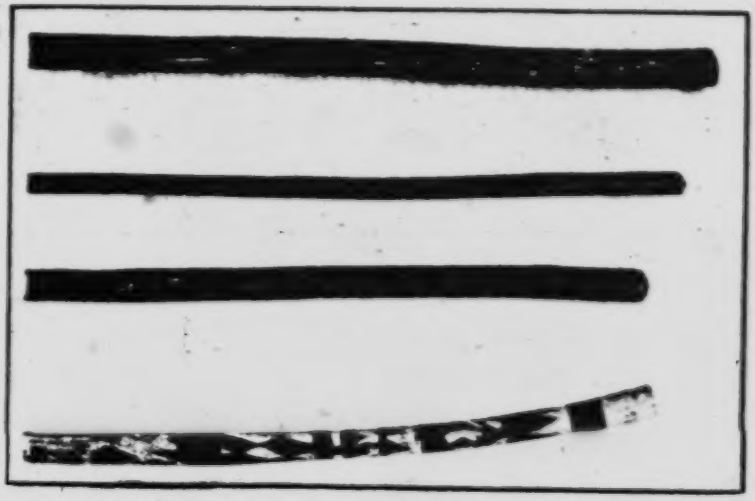

Fig. 33. a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

Fig. 34, a-d. Dance sticks of the Xinguanos in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--75 F-o (1901, 192?-1931; 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XVII

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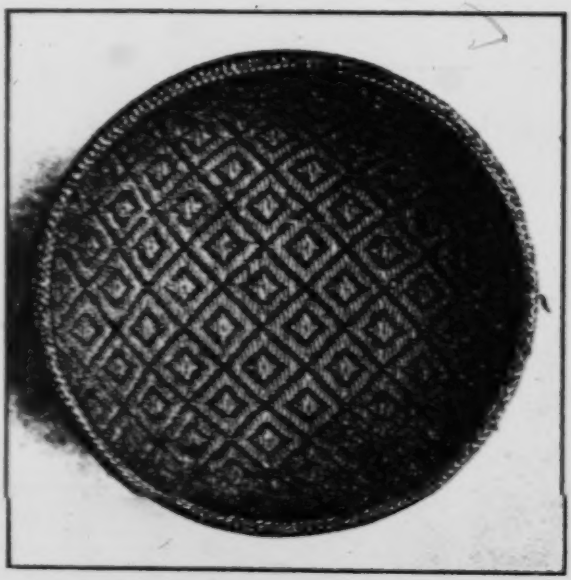

Fig. 37. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

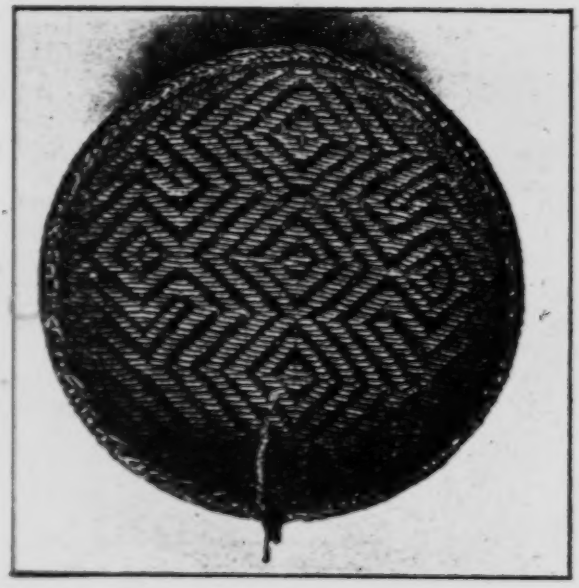

Fig. 38. Flat basket. Bakairí in Simões Lopes.

4:Schmidt--79 F-5 (1901 192?-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate
XXI

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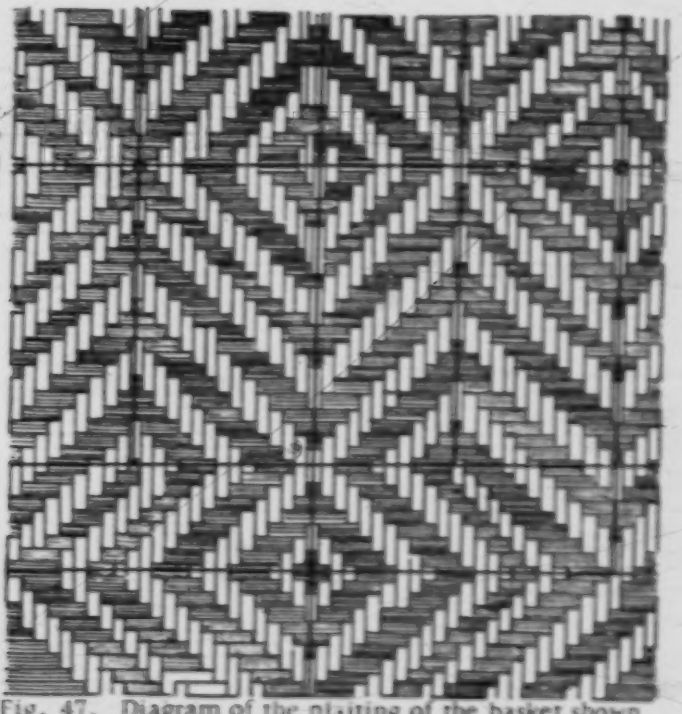

Fig. 47. Diagram of the plaiting of the basket shown in Fig. 38.

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Fig. 48. Diagram of the technique of the baskets plaited from two buriti leaves.

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Plate XXII

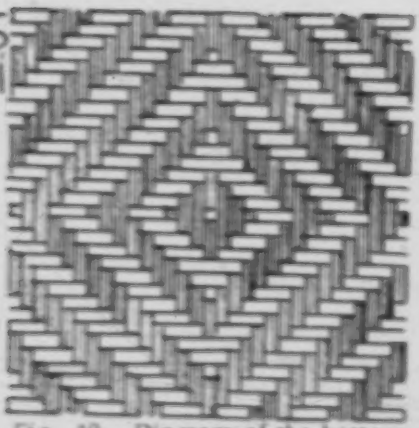

Fig. 49. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 39.

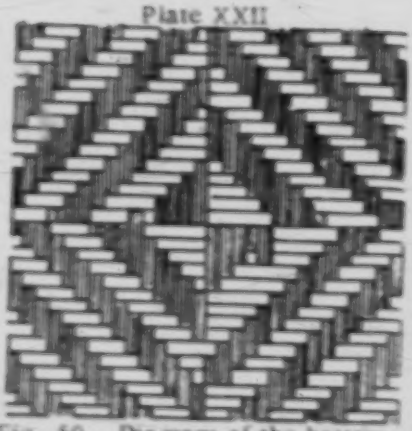

Fig. 50. Diagram of the bottom of the basket shown in Fig. 42

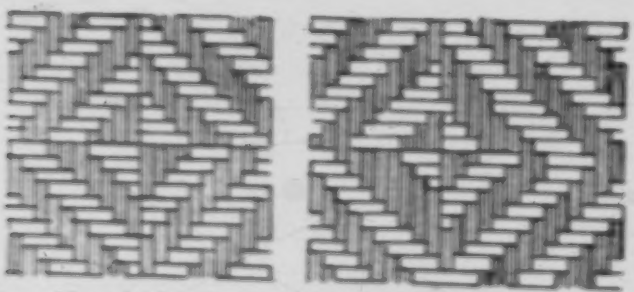

Fig. 51 and 52. Diagram of the plaiting of the bottom of the baskets shown in Figs. 40 and 41 respectively.

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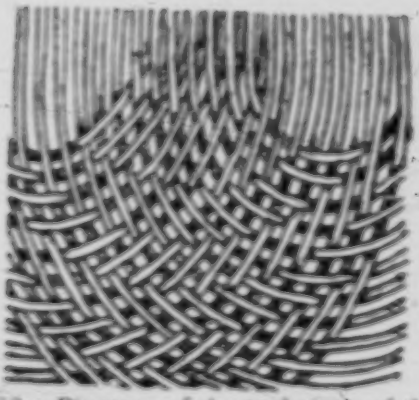

Fig. 53. Diagram of the technique of the baskets woven from only one burri leaf

/267 cont./

[756] [262] [785] In regard to initiation, Karl von den Steinen tells us that the candidate had to subsist solely on starch broth, hit himself continually on the head, and at the same time scratch his arms and chest until blood ran. (14) On the other hand,

14. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 440-441.

[276] Capistrano de Abreu relates that the novice had to swallow "drugs such as timbo, pindova, vafinbé, and other cipos" and learn the language of karoui. On the day of the initiation the candidate would go for a walk with his master, who gave him the infusion to drink. (15)

15. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235-238.

796 The Bakairí had quite an elaborate ceremonial system, as may be inferred from the information obtained /268/ the Indians of Simões Lopes. Dancing and singing were done not only when there was an abundance of food or when economic activities permitted it, but especially at times such as the maize harvest, or the occasion when the ears of the boys about to be secluded were pierced, or at times of the celebration of the tadaunúto, or end of the uanki state, the building of houses, the beginning of the clearing of a field, or finally the distribution of cotton among the women. On those occasions [574] neighboring groups were invited and the festivities lasted for 534 days. Bakairí musical instruments consisted of bamboo flutes and bells for the feet made of piquí shells. The informants recalled four kinds of flutes: enimi and kanagera, sacred flutes kept hidden from the eyes of women and children, and tadãua and nakigoro, used in secular festivities. The Bakairí also had [531] gourds filled with seeds or stones, called pako, and wooden sticks decorated with geometric designs.

[P 72-B]

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[533] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

281 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
620 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

3;Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo

Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Wauna SP18

PLATE XXIII

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W
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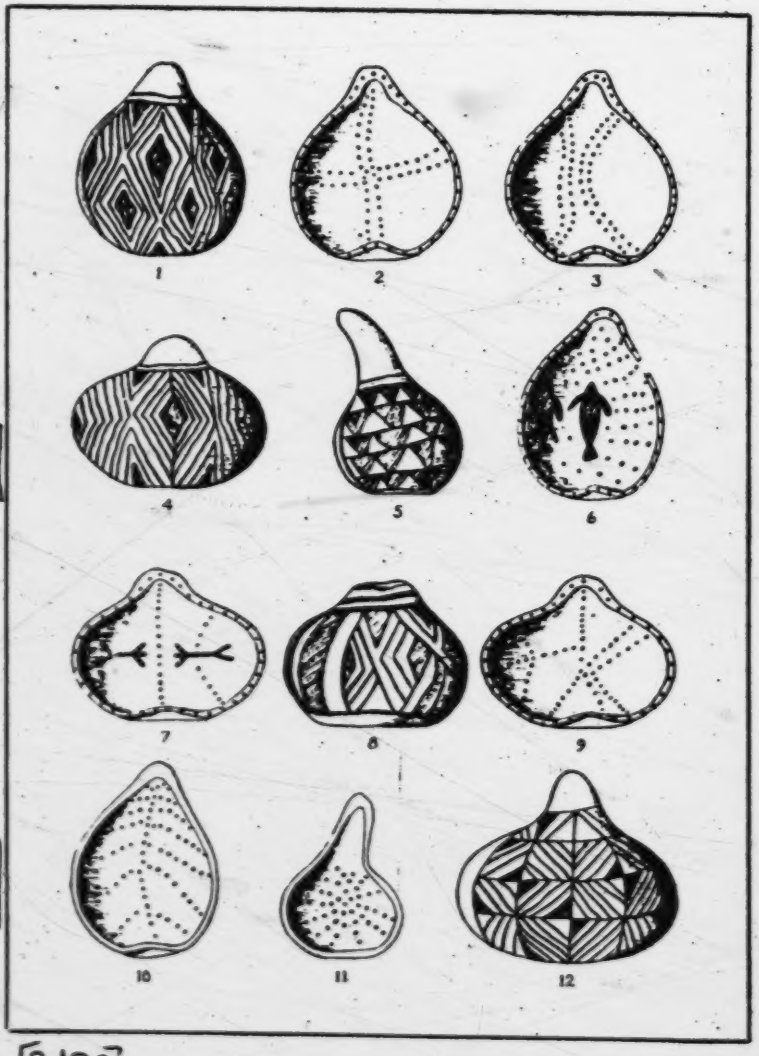

[P. 178]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 89.]